4: Silva--475 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/321 cont./

121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[782]

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477]

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wɨx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

[782] [276]

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Cururú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wïx-tï! As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
• 782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacuri, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.
796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),
✗[192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wïx-tï, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

• 782
796
*[192]
[534]

/336 cont./
Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

[123]
[124]
[177]
[869]

Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337/

• 782 796 [115] with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones, it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken indi idual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wɨx-tɨ (43).

[115]

43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wɨx-tɨ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all <u>things</u> belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, <u>Mɨrɨ</u> (or <u>Mɨnɨ</u>, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is <u>masculine</u>. They positively affirm to us that the <u>Mɨrɨ</u> is <u>maxsɨ</u>, people. In the plural it becomes <u>Mɨrɨá</u>; and it should be observed that the plural in <u>a</u> is exclusively for animate beings.

* [192] [193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[124] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in gen-
[115] eral the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to desig-
776 nate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩ baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kĩ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kĩ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

776 Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
• 782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near [784] Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ï'á-fiõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick: it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ: the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

./430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
• [782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
• 782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
551 repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.